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*The Arabic dialect of Baghdād.*—By Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI,  
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THE modern Arabic dialects are very numerous, but the most important are those spoken in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Barbary, and Morocco. That of Mesopotamia varies somewhat according as it is spoken in Baghdād, Mōsul, Diārbekr, or Mardīn. I shall discuss here the Baghdād dialect only, inasmuch as, so far as I know, nobody has, hitherto, treated it.<sup>1</sup>

In the present paper I must confine myself to some rough notes on the principal phonetic, morphological and lexicographical peculiarities, reserving a complete and systematic study of the Baghdād dialect for a future publication.

### 1. PHONOLOGICAL NOTES.

#### Pronunciation of Consonants.

(1) The distinction between ذ and ض, ث and ظ, and ت and ط is not maintained, and ذ, ض, ث and ط are pronounced as د, ظ and ت; e. g. ذهب *dāhab* instead of ذهب *gold*, فضة *f'idda* instead of فضة *silver*, and ثوب *tōb* instead of ثوب *cloth*; while in Egypt and Syria ث, ذ, ض and ظ are always pronounced respectively as *s*, *z*, and *z*: *záhab*, *fizzē*, *sōb*.

(2) ج is pronounced *j*, not *g* as in Egypt, e. g. جبل *jébel* 'mountain,' جمل *jémel* 'camel.'

(3) ر is pronounced as a guttural *r* = *gh* = غ, both by the Christians and Jews, e. g. كبيغ, عشغة, غمان instead of كبير

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<sup>1</sup> While the modern Arabic dialects of Egypt, Barbary, Tunis, Morocco, Arabia, Syria, and Damascus have been carefully studied and discussed by scholars like Spitta, Berggrem, Wahrmond, Cameron, Hartmann, Vollers, Pizzi, Nallino, Caussin de Perceval, Monseigneur Clemens T. David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, Huart, Socin, Meakin, Winckler (J. L. W.), Probst, Spiro, and Stumme, that of Baghdād seems to have attracted but little attention. Newman, in his *Handbook of Modern Arabic* (London, 1866), makes some references to this dialect, but his remarks are vague, confused, and often incorrect.

great, عشرة *ten*, رمان *pomegranate*,<sup>1</sup> while the Arabs and Bedouins in and around Baghdâd always pronounce the , correctly.<sup>2</sup>

(4) In some cases , and ل are interchanged, e. g. *Ingrîzi* for انكليزي *Englishman*, qinçir for قنصل *consul*, and iltâbak for ارتبك *to be confused*, and zangîl for زنجير , or better جنزير *chain*.<sup>3</sup>

(5) ك is pronounced ç, i. e. like the English *ch* in *chain*, e. g. çalb for كلب *dog*, çidib for كذب *lie*, çâbad for كبد *liver*.<sup>4</sup>

(6) ق is pronounced as *g* in English *game*, e. g. lâglag for قلق *stork*, gâ'ad for قعد *to sit down*, gâm for قام *to rise*, etc. We find the same change in the Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, where words like qagqadu, 'head,' qâtu 'hand,' qaggaru 'ground,' qardu 'strong,' appear as gagadu, gâtu, gagaru, and gardu.<sup>5</sup>

(7) In some cases the ق is pronounced ج , i. e. English *j*,<sup>6</sup> e. g. the proper name Jâsim for قاسم , jâdar for قدر *jate*, jarîb for قريب *near*; but ق is never pronounced at Baghdâd as *hamza*, as in Syria; they never say 'âlîb for قلب *heart*, 'arîb for قريب *near*, 'âla for قال *he said*.<sup>7</sup>

(8) س and ص are often interchanged according to the well known rule of the Arabs:—إذا اجتمع السين والقاف والسين

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3<sup>d</sup> edition, vol. 1, p. 6, n. \*, where De Goeje states that غ is sometimes replaced by , as in the Yemenite مضار mudḡâr for مضاع , and often in MSS. See also *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, 3, 569, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Physiologie und Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Grammatik besonders die hebräische* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> According to Dr. Moritz, the Director of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, the name زنجيرلى *zenjîrli* is not derived from زنجير *chain*, but from ستنجير *castle*; see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Königl. Museum zu Berlin, Heft xi, Berlin, 1893), p. 61, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Contrast Wetzstein, *Sprachliches aus den Zelllagern der syrischen Würte* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 99 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Haupt, ASKT. (Leipzig, 1881), p. 168 ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 43.

<sup>6</sup> Contrast Wetzstein, l. c. p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Edgar P. Allen, *On the Semitic Emphatic Consonants* in vol. 14 of this *Journal*, p. cxi.

والطاء والسين والغين والسين والصاد فأنت الخيار بها إن  
 ف , i. e. *wherever* *س* and *شئت* *س* *سینتها* *وان شئت* *س* *صودتها*  
*and* *ط* *س* *and* *غ* *س* *and* *ص* *come together, you are at libertg*  
*to pronounce either* *س* *or* *ص* , e. g. *مسطرة* for *مصطرة* ruler (for  
 drawing straight lines) *سقط* for *صقط* *he fell*, *سطح* for *صطح*  
*roof*.<sup>1</sup>

(9) Finally, owing to the great number of Turkish, Persian, and European words introduced into the Baghdād dialect, there are three new consonants which do not exist in classical Arabic, viz. *چ* = *č*,<sup>2</sup> *پ* = *p* and *ڭ* = *g*, e. g. *چول* *čöl* ‘open field, *پوسطة*

*posta* ‘post office,’ and *ڭمرڭ* *gúmrug* ‘custom house.’ All these phonetic peculiarities apply, of course, only to the spoken language; in reading the Koran and the classical authors both Christians and Jews as well as Mohammedans pronounce the consonants more correctly than is customary in Egypt and Syria.

With respect to the *accent*, it may be noted that the Jews of Baghdād have a tendency to put the accent on the last syllable, as in Hebrew, but this is not done by the Christians and the Mohammedans.

#### Dropping of Consonants.

The nûnation has disappeared in the dialect of Baghdād just as in the other modern Arabic dialects. It is however, preserved in a few adverbs, e. g. *ابدا* *never*, *دائما* *always*, and in the old salutation *اهلا وسهلا ومرحبا*; in Egypt and in Syria adverbial forms with nûnation are much more numerous.

The final *ن* of the classical Arabic in the 2 pers. fem. sing. and in 2 pers. masc. plur. of the imperfect, on the other hand, is pre-

<sup>1</sup> For this partial assimilation cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familien-gesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 73, below; *Hebraica*, I, 231; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* I, 2. 19, n. 27; Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Poly-chrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 39; see also Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Gram-matik*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1898), § 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, (5).

<sup>3</sup> In modern Arabic writing the sounds *č*, *p*, *g*, are represented respectively by the Persian and Turkish letters, *چ*, *پ*, and *ڭ*.

served in the dialect of Baghdād, while in Egypt and Syria this termination has altogether disappeared.

Initial *Ā* is usually dropped, e. g. *mlāk*, *klāl*, *mrād* for *أملاك* 'amlāk, possessions, *إكليل* 'iklīl, crown, *امراض* 'amrād, maladies.<sup>1</sup>

Postvocalic *Ā* often quiesces in a preceding short vowel, as *dīb*, *īdākīl*, for *ذئب* *dhi'b* 'wolf,' and *يأكل* *īa'kulu* 'he eats.'

The imperative has no prothetic *ʔ* as in classical Arabic (*اقتل* *ūqtul*) but is simply *qtul*, *shrab* for *اشرب* *ishrab* 'drink,' as in Hebrew and Syriac.

Final *ē* is often dropped, e. g. *ḡalā*, *māra* for *صلوة* *ḡalātu* 'prayer,' and *imra'atu* 'woman.'

In the form *مفعلة* and *فعليلة* the *ē* is often changed into *ī* (*فعيلي* and *مفعلي*), e. g. *mādrasi*, *māktabi*, *ḡasini*, *karīmi* for *مدرسة* *mādrasat* 'school,' *مكتبة* *māktabat* 'library,' *حسينة* *ḡasīnat* 'beautiful,' *كريمة* *karīmat* 'generous;,' in other words, however, of the same type the final *a* is preserved, e. g. *مطبعة* *maṭba'a* 'printing office,' *مقبرة* *maḡbara* 'cemetery,' *مسطرة* *mas-tara* 'ruler' (for drawing straight lines).

The *ʔ* in the verbal suffix of the 3 pers. sing. and plur. masc. and fem. is elided, and for *قتله* *qátalahu* 'he has killed him,' *قتلها* *qátalahā* 'he has killed her,' *قتلهم* *qátalahum* 'he has killed them,' *قتلهن* *qatalahunna* 'he has killed them' (fem.) we find *qatālu*, *qatāla*, *qatālum* and *qatālun*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Other Consonantal Changes.

In the *nomen agentis* of the verbs mediæ *و* and *ى* the *hamza* is changed into *ī*, e. g. *qāīm māīit*, for *قائم* *qā'im* 'standing,' and *صائت* *mā'it*, 'dying.'<sup>3</sup>

The final *hamza* of the word *ماء* *water* is also changed into *ī*: *مائي* *māī*, as in Ethiopic *māī*, pl. *māīdt*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heb. *אָבִיו* for *אָבִיהוּ*; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Der Halb vocal u im Assyrischen in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 2, 276.

<sup>4</sup> In Hebrew *מִי* the *ī* is due to epenthesis of the final *i* in the old plural form *māmi*. Cf. Critical Notes on Isaiah (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 157, l. 12.

## Vowels.

In the Arabic writing only three vowels are expressed, viz. *a*, *i*, *u* or *â*, *î*, *û*, e. g. *مقتول*, *ولد*, *مالك*, *سعيد*. In the Baghdâd dialect, however, as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects we find three additional vowels, viz. *ô* representing a modification of *u* or of a diphthongal *au*; *ê* for *î* or *aî* or *â*, and finally short *e* similar to the *e* in the English word *general*.

(1) The change of *â* to *ê* in the modern Arabic dialects, the so-called *امالة*, is well known.<sup>1</sup> For instance: the words *رجال* *men*, *ناس* *people*, *جامع* *mosque*, *كاتب* *writer*, are pronounced in *rejêl*, *nês*, *jêmi*, *kêtib*.

(2) The preformatives of the imperfects *i* and *u* in the first form of the verb are pronounced with an *i* vowel, e. g. *يقتل* *îqtil* for *يقتل* *îqatul*; in the derived conjugations an *e* vowel is pronounced e. g. *يقتل* *îqattil*, *يقتل* *îqettil* for *يقتل* *îuqattil*, *يقتل* *îuqtil*. This, however, is probably not a phonetic change but the survival of a by-form; see Mr. Blake's remarks on the vowels of the preformatives in his paper on *The Internal Passive in Semitic*.<sup>2</sup>

(3) In certain nouns we find an *e*, like the *e* in the English word *carpet*, instead of *u* in classical Arabic, e. g. *meshmesh*, *fel-fel*, *bestân*, *çeltân* instead of *مشمش* *mušmuš* 'apricot,' *فلفل* *ful-ful* 'pepper,' *بستان* *bustân* 'garden,' *سلطان* *çultân* 'sultan.' In these cases we have, of course, no phonetic change but different formations; cf. Hebrew *שָׁלוֹן* Arabic *sultân*; Aramaic *ܕܢܝܢ*, Arab. *buniân*. This change is peculiar to the Baghdâd dialect.

The *Imâle* referred to under (1) occurs also in Syria, e. g. *bêb* 'gate,' *kitêb* 'book, for *bâb*, *kitâb*; and the pronunciation of the preformatives of the imperfect with *i* instead of *a* or *u* is found both in Syria and Egypt.

(4) The long vowels *î* and *û* often become *ê* and *ô*, e. g. *malêh*, 'arêd, *battêh* for *مليح* *good*, *عريض* *wide*, *بطيخ* *melon*; also 'agfôgh, *nâqôs*, *maksôgh*, for *عصفور* *sparrow*, *ناقوس* *bell*, *مكسور* *broken*. In Egypt and Syria the vowels *î* and *û* are preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grünert, *Über die Imâla* (Vienna, 1876), and Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, 17, n. 20.

The *ē* and *ō* of the Baghdād dialect, in the cases mentioned above, is no doubt due to the influence of the adjacent consonants.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Unaccented short vowels are often syncopated, e. g. براسى *bira'sī* 'on my head,' becomes *bra'sī*; لبيتى *liba'itī* 'to my house,' becomes *lbēti*. In the same way the vowel of the preformatives of the imperfect is often dropped if the first stem consonant of the verb is followed by a vowel, e. g. *tçállī*, *nbārik* for *تصلى*, *نبارك* *tuçalli* 'thou prayest,' and *nubāriku* 'we bless; so, too, in the preformative *م* of the participles, e. g. *mçáttil*, *mdárris*, *m'allim* for *مقتل* *muçáttilu* 'murderer,' مدرس *mudárrisun* 'instructor,' and معلم *mu'allimu* 'teacher.' We find the same elision, e. g., in the forms *فعليل*, *فعلال*, and *فعالة*, for instance *ḥçān*, *ḥmír*, *flūs*, *djājat* for *حصان* *ḥiçān* 'horse,' *حميم* *ḥamír* 'asses,' *فلس* *fulūs* 'money,' and *دجاجة* *dajājat*. 'hen.'

(6) In the plural of the *nomen agentis* the second stem consonant is often syncopated, e. g. *kátbīn*, *msilmīn*, *me'álmīn* for *كاتبون* *katibān* 'writers,' *muslimūn* 'Muslimans,' and *mu'allimūn* 'teachers.'<sup>2</sup> The same syncope takes place in the dual form.<sup>3</sup>

(7) The same elision occurs after the second stem consonant of the 3 pers. sing. fem. and 3 pers. masc. plur. of the perfect, e. g. *lībsit*, *ḥiznit*, *lībsu*, *ḥiznu* for *لبست* *lābisat* 'she dressed,' *ḥazinat* 'she was grieved,' *labisū* 'they dressed,' and *ḥazinū* 'they were grieved.'<sup>4</sup>

(8) In the same way short vowels are dropped at the end, e. g. the final vowel of the termination of the 2 pers. sing. masc. of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 48.

<sup>2</sup> We find the same elision even in Assyrian, e. g. *āšbu* 'dwelling' for *uāšibu*, *šālšu* 'third' for *šālīšu*. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 37.

<sup>3</sup> In the dialect of Baghdād as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects, the dual and plural forms of the participles are preserved only in their genitive case; as in Syriac and Hebrew, the nominative case has altogether disappeared, e. g. *كاتبين*, *عالمين*, *مدرسين* instead of *كاتبون*, *عالمون* and *مدرسون*, *kátbēn*, *álmēn* and *mdarsēn* for the old dual forms *كاتبان* and *عالمان*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *Áthiop. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> §§ 37, 76.

perfect (e. g. *lbist*, *hzint* for لبست *labista* 'thou didst dress,' حزنت *hazinta* 'thou wast grieved')<sup>1</sup> or the overlapping vowels of the imperfect (e. g. *tāhzan*, *ālbās*, *āhzan* for تآهزن *tāhzanu* 'thou art sad,' ألبس *ālbāsu* 'I dress,' آهزن *āhzanu* 'I am sad'); or the final vowel of the possessive suffix of the second person (e. g. *kālbak*, *jīsmak* for كلبك *kālbuka* 'thy dog,' جسمك *jīsmuka* 'thy body').<sup>2</sup>

Owing to this apocope of the final vowel the 3 pers. fem. sing. of the perf. can be distinguished from the 2 pers. masc. sing. only by the accent: in the 3 pers. fem. sing. the accent is on the first syllable, while in the 2 pers. masc. sing. the accent is on the second syllable, e. g. *hīja qātalet*, *hīja ākalet* for هي قتلت *hīja qātalat* 'she has killed' and هي أكلت *hīja ākalat* 'she has eaten,' and *ānta qatālet*, *ānta akālet* for أنت قتلت *ānta qatāla* 'thou hast killed' and أنت أكلت *ānta akāla* 'thou has eaten.'<sup>3</sup>

(9) In the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, an auxiliary vowel is inserted in the second syllable just as in the corresponding Hebrew *Segolate* forms, e. g. *šāmis* for شمس *šams* 'sun,' *bīnit* for بنت *bint* 'daughter,' *qūdis* for قدس *quds* 'holiness.'<sup>4</sup> The original form, however, is preserved before suffixes, just as in Hebrew מלכִי *mlkī*, קרְשִׁי and סַפְרִי.

#### Contraction of Diphthongs.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* of the classical Arabic are always pronounced *ē* and *ō*, e. g. *īom*, *zēt*, *mōt*, *hōš*, *bēt* for يوم *īaum* 'day,' زيت *zait* 'olive oil,' موت *maut* 'death,' حوش *hayš* 'court-yard,' بيت *baīt* 'house.' So also in the termination of the dual, e. g. *šahrēn*, *ktēbēn* for شهرين *šahraïn* 'two months,' and کتابين *kitābain* 'two books,' as the 'plural of the genitive'<sup>5</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stumne, *Gramm. des Tunisischen Arabisch*. (Leipzig, 1896), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For this apocope of final short vowels, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 50.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heb. בְּרַכַּת = *bārakat*. Similarly we have in Syriac *qiṭlāth* = *qātalat* and *qṭalt* = *qatāla*.

<sup>4</sup> In Assyrian the characteristic vowel of the first syllable is repeated in the construct state of the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*: *qatal*, *qitil*, *qutul*. Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 89, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 102, n. 3.



used, e. g. *bn̄n̄n* instead of بنون *sons*; this termination -*n̄n* can, of course, not be explained as *Imāle* of the nominative ending -*ān* in classical Arabic. We find this *ē* for *ai* also in the verbs *tertiæ* ي, e. g. *ramētu* for رميت *ramaitu* 'I threw.'

Contraction of the diphthongs obtains also in the other Arabic dialects, but in none of them is it so general and consistent as in the dialect of Baghdād.<sup>1</sup> I have often heard Egyptians and Syrians pronounce زيت *zait*, حوش *hayš*, موت *mayt*, etc., but the natives of Baghdād always contract the diphthongs. In the dialect of زحلة *Zaḥle* in Northern Syria, on the other hand, the diphthongs are constantly preserved as in classical Arabic.

## 2. Morphological Notes.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the Arabic dialect of Baghdād is the suffix *nā* instead of *hū* in many cases, e. g. ابونو *abunū* for أبوه *abūhu* 'his father,' اخونو *axunū* for أخوه *axūhu* 'his brother,' علينو *alēnū* for عليه *alaihi* 'upon him,' بينو *bīnū* for به *bihi* 'in him;' منو *minnū* for منه *minhu* 'from him;' شئو *šānū* for شيء هو *aḫū šaʾin hū* 'what is it?' Also in the following forms of the verb: قتلتنو *qataltānū* for قتلته *qatalātu* 'I killed him,' قتلاننو *qatalnānū* for قتلناه *qatalnāhu* 'we killed him,' قتلتننو *qataltīnū* for قتلتيه *qataltīhi*<sup>2</sup> or قتلته *qataltīhi* 'thou (fem.) didst kill him,' قتلتنو *qataltūnu* for قتلتموه *qataltumūhu* 'you killed him,' قتلونو *qatalānū* for قتلوه *qatalāhu* 'they killed him,' تقتلتنو *taqtīlīnū* for تقتلي *taqtīlihi*<sup>3</sup> 'thou (fem.) wilt kill him,' تقتلونو *tiqtīlānū* for

<sup>1</sup> In the same way the diphthongs *ay* and *ai* appear as *ū* and *ī* in Assyrian; but the Hebrew name מִיכָאֵל is rendered at the time of Tiglathpileser III. (745-727) by *Ausi*, and at the time of Assurbanipal (668-626) the sheik of the Kedarenes is called *Uāte* and *Ṭayta'u*, i. e., probably, يعمس, عمس, يزييد, زيد (cf. يوتخ and واتخ), see Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 21, n. 1; *Über den Halbvocal u im Assyrischen*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 2, 261; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 170. 296.

<sup>2</sup> See Wright-de Goeje<sup>3</sup>, vol. 1, § 186, c; cf. Heb. קטלתני, etc.

<sup>3</sup> For the survival of the by-form *hi* instead of *hu* in this case see Crit. Notes on Judges (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 66, l. 23.

تقتلوه *taqtulāhu* 'you will kill him,' يقتلون *iqtilānā* for يقتلوه *jaqtulāhu* 'they will kill him,' and finally the 2 pers. plur. of the imperative, e. g. قتلون *qtulanā* for اقتلوه *uqtulāhu* 'kill ye him,' and the 2 pers. sing. fem. قتلينو *qtilīnā* for اقتلي *uqtulāhi* 'kill thou (fem.) him.' Professor Haupt compares this *nū* with the suffix in Heb. אינני *he is not*, עודני *he is still*, ישני *he is*.<sup>1</sup> This *nū* may be based on the analogy of the suffix *nī* which we find in a number of cases instead of the possessive suffix *i*, e. g. איני *i*, עודני *i*, הנני *i*, cf. Arabic انني *innanī*, for innī, لكنني *lākinnanī* for lākinnī, ليسني *laisanī* for laisī, etc., and the modern Arabic forms فيني *fīnī* and بيني *bīnī* for في and بي.<sup>2</sup> This *nī* is evidently identical with the verbal suffix of the first person.<sup>3</sup> Brockelmann thinks that the suffix נן in אינני is identical with the particle אנ *anna* (lit. *it is not that he*); but this view is improbable. In Assyrian the verbal suffix appears not only as *nī*, but also, especially after a preceding *ū*, as *annī*, *innī*, e. g. *ilqā'innī-ma uštešibū'innī* 'they took me, and caused me to dwell' (in l. 205 of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge). This shows that the verbal suffix *nī* is shortened from *annī*, *innī*, i. e. Heb. (אנ + ני).

Clermont-Ganneau, on the other hand, thinks that this *nū* of the Arabic dialect of Baghdād cannot be an emphatic נ, nor an element belonging to the preceding word; it must be therefore, he concludes, regarded as an integral part of the suffix itself, which, at an early time, may have been both *nū* and *hū*. According to Clermont-Ganneau this hypothesis is made more probable by the fact that in Phœnician we have both הם and נם as suffixes of the 3 pers. masc. plur.<sup>4</sup> and if נם is the plural suffix, we may

<sup>1</sup> So we must point instead of the traditional ישני; cf. Critical Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 57, l. 37; Stade, § 370, b; Brockelmann in ZA. 14, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 103, d.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 100; Brockelmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 14, 347.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), § 57 (p. 158); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*. (Weimar, 1898), p. 396.

assume that **ن** was the singular suffix, which is precisely the suffix **ن** preserved in the modern Arabic dialect of Baghdâd.<sup>1</sup>

In the two words **أب** *father* and **أخ** *brother*, the suffix of the 1. pers. sing. masc. appears as **ي**: **أخوي** *axûyi* and **أبوي** *abûyi* instead of **أبي** *abi* and **أخي** *axi*. This suffix **-yi** may be a modification of the original form **-ia** (cf. Assy. *abû'a*, *axû'a* for *abûia*, *axûia*) influenced by the ordinary form of the suffix of the first person **-i**, just as Heb. **קטלתי** *I killed*, instead of *qatâltu*, and **אני** *I* instead of *anâku*, were influenced by the *i* of **אני**.<sup>2</sup>

A special peculiarity of the Baghdâd dialect is the use of the two words **أكو** *akû* 'there is,' and **ماكو** *mâkû* 'there is not,' corresponding to **في** and **مافيش** in the modern Arabic dialect of Egypt. Therefore Baghdâd is called the 'Land of *Akû* and *Mâkû*,' as Egypt is called the land of *Mâfish*. The forms **أكو** and **ماكو** are probably derived from some form of the verb **كان**, **يكون** *to be*.

#### Proper Names.

In the Baghdâd dialect there exists a special nominal form used exclusively for proper names, which, in the other Arabic dialects, contain the name of God **الله**. This form is **فأدلى** *fa'âlî* which

<sup>1</sup> The following explanation has been suggested by Mr. Blake, of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. The form **منه** *minhu* 'from him' of the classical language appears in the dialect of Baghdâd as *minnû*, the *h* of the suffix being assimilated to the preceding consonant, just as in the Hebrew form **קטלתו** *q'tâlâtû* 'she killed him,' for **קטלתהו** *q'tâlâthû*. The *nû* of this form *minnû* came to be regarded as the suffix of the third person masculine, and was extended by analogy to other prepositions; e. g. **אלנו** 'upon him,' **בנו** 'in him;' just as the *el* of Hebrew **עלי** and **אלי** was extended to other prepositions like **אחרי**, where originally it had no place. It was then still further extended to those verbal forms which end in a long vowel (the only exception being the form of the 2. pl. perf. with suffix *qataalkun-nû*, which might, however, be explained as derived from the feminine form **قتلكن** rather than from the masculine **قتلكم**), and to the nouns **أب** 'father,' and **أخ** 'brother,' which have at least a long vowel before the possessive suffixes, e. g. **أبوك** *abû-k* 'thy father,' **أخونا** *axû-nâ* 'our brother.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 53; Stade, § 179, a, n. 3.

does not occur in classical Arabic. Instead of نصر الله *Naṣrullāhi* (Help of God), شكر الله *Šukrullāhi* (Reward of God), رزق الله *Rizqullāhi* (Gift of God), عبد الله *ʿAbdullāhi* (Servant of God) we find نصوري *Naṣṣūrī*, شكوري *Šakkūrī*, رزقي *Razzūqī* and عبودي *ʿAbbūdī*. Even the three Hebrew names, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (مِيخَائِيل, גַּבְרִיאֵל, רַפְאֵאֵל), appear in the dialect of Baghdād as جَبْرِي *Maxxālī*, جَبْرِي *Jabbārī* رَقُولِي *Raffālī*, thus showing the influence of analogy. It is used also for the feminine name فاطمة *Fāṭime* which appears as فطومة *Fattūme*.<sup>1</sup>

This form فعُولِي is, according to Professor Haupt, a *nisbeh* derived from the intensive adjective form فعُول, e. g. قَيّوم *qaiyūm* 'everlasting,' سَبَّوح *sabbāḥ* 'all-glorious,' قَدّوس *qaddūs* 'most holy.'<sup>2</sup> A name like نصوري may be a denominative derived from an intensive by-form of نصر *helper*, so that it would mean *Belonging to the Great Helper*, and شكوري from an intensive by-form of شكر *Great Rewarder*, so that it means *Belonging to the Great Rewarder*. Several of these names are, of course, nothing but analogical formations.

For the *nomina unitatis* the form فعلة of the classical Arabic is never used, but the form فعلاية *fa'lāiye* or فعلايى *fa'lāiyyi*, which seems to be a diminutive of the form فعلة, e. g. نجمايى *najmāiyyi* 'star, blaze,' لحمايى *lahmāiyyi* 'piece of meat,' خبزايى *ḫibzāiyyi* 'a piece of bread,' جبنايى *jibnāiyyi* 'a piece of cheese,' for جبنة and خبزة, نجمة, لحمة. The classical forms of these *nomina unitatis* are preserved in the modern Arabic dialects of Syria and Egypt.

### 3. LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

#### Pronouns, Adverbs, and Prepositions.

I append here a list of the forms of the principal pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions used in the Arabic dialect of Baghdād with the corresponding forms in the other Arabic dialects.

<sup>1</sup> In north Morocco *Fattūs*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 566.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright-de Goeje, I, 138, A, § 223, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> § 119.

Baghdād.		
هوني <i>hōnī</i>	=	هنا <i>hunā</i> 'here.'
هونيك <i>honīki</i>	=	هناك <i>hunāka</i> 'there.'
وين <i>wēn</i>	=	اين <i>aīna</i> 'where?'
هذوليك <i>hadhōlik</i>	=	اولئك <i>ulā'ika</i> 'those.'
هذولي <i>hadhōlī</i>	=	هؤلاء <i>hā'ulā'i</i> 'these.'
هليوم <i>halīōm</i>	=	هذا اليوم <i>hādhalīayma</i> 'to-day.'
ه <i>ha</i>	=	هذا <i>hādḥā</i> 'this.'
هوينو <i>hayēnū</i>	=	هنا هو <i>huna hū'a</i> 'here it is.'
هم <sup>2</sup> <i>hamm</i>	=	ايضا <i>aīḍa</i> <sup>n</sup> 'also.'
هيما <i>hāmmēnā</i>	=	ايضا <i>aīḍa</i> <sup>n</sup> 'also.'
لش <i>lēš</i>	=	لأشئ <i>li'aīī šaī'in</i> 'why.'
بلش or مبلش <i>balāš</i> or <i>mbalāš</i>	=	بلاشئ <i>bilā šaī'in</i> 'without pay, for nothing.'
مبوغر <i>mbōghir</i>	=	لأن <i>li'anna</i> 'because.'
شوية <sup>3</sup> <i>šūḍiye</i>	=	قليل <i>qalīl</i> 'little.'
كيف ما كان <i>kēf mā kān</i>	=	'however.'
شوقت <i>šūqūt</i>	=	في أي وقت <i>fī aīī yāqtin</i> 'when?'
كل وقت <i>kull yāgit</i>	=	دائما <i>dā'imā</i> 'always.'
بالعجل <i>bi'l'ajal</i>	=	حالا <i>ḥālan</i> 'immediately.'
عافي <sup>4</sup> <i>ayāfī</i>	=	هنيئا <i>hanī'a</i> <sup>n</sup> 'prosit!'
سوي <i>sāya</i>	=	سوياً <i>sayīīatan</i> 'together.'
جو <i>jayya</i>	=	داخلا <i>dāxila</i> <sup>n</sup> 'inside.'
تر <i>bārra</i>	=	خارجا <i>xārijan</i> 'outside.'
شنو <i>šunū</i>	=	أشئ هو <i>aīīu šaī'in hāya</i> 'what is it?'
ويانو <i>uīānū</i> <sup>5</sup>	=	معه <i>mā'ahu</i> 'with him.'
شبينو <i>šbīnū</i>	=	أشئ <i>aīīu šaī'in bihi</i> (or ما له) 'what is the matter with him?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Talcott Williams' article on the spoken Arabic of North Morocco in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 567, n. \*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> The diminutive of *شيء*.

<sup>4</sup> Plur. of *عافية*, *āfiye* 'health,' which is used in north Morocco for *fire*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, p. 577, l. 18.

<sup>5</sup> I. e. *إيا + واو المفعلة* *ayīdhu*, i. e. *واو المفعلة* *bihi* (or *ماله*) instead of *hū* (cf. above, p. 104), cf. Wright-de Goeje<sup>3</sup>, 2, 84, D.

## VOCABULARY.

## Foreign Words.

The vocabulary of the dialect of Baghdād has been enriched by a great many Syriac, Turkish, Persian, and European words. Of the words borrowed from the Syriac we may mention

سَكَّر	to lock the door, from	سَكَّرَ
طاف	supernatavit, from	طَفَّ <sup>1</sup>
شَطَفَ	to wash the hand, from	شَفَفَ
شَمَطَ	to draw the sword, from	شَمَطَ
فَلَشَ	to destroy, from	فَلَشَ <sup>2</sup>
شَلَحَ	to undress, from	شَلَحَ <sup>3</sup>

Also the form فاعول for *nomina agentis* as in شاغول *business man*, etc., seems to be due to the influence of the Syriac.<sup>4</sup>

Finally all the words relating to the Christian religion appear to be borrowed from the Syriac just as in the other Arabic dialects,<sup>5</sup> e. g. تلميذ *talmidh* 'student' or 'disciple,' شماس *šammās*, 'ministerial assistant at the altar,' قَسَّ *qess* or قَسَّيس *qassīs*, 'priest,' عباد *mād* 'baptism,' كاهن *kāhin* 'priest,'<sup>6</sup> كاردوز *kārdāz*

<sup>1</sup> From this word we have طوف *ṭof*, the name for the inflated skins put under rafts (*keleks* = Syriac حَكَا or حَكَا *kalkā* or *k'lakkā*). The ancient Assyrian name for these inflated skins was *gabšū*; cf. Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for this verb Crit. Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 38, l. 42.

<sup>3</sup> In the last four stems the identity of the sibilant shows that these stems are not genuine Arabic words; otherwise we should expect a س *s* for ط; cf. Haupt. *Sumer. Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 20, n. 3; ZDMG., 34, 762, n. 2; Beitr. zur assyr. Lautlehre (Göttingen, 1883), p. 101, § 7; Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.* (Leyden, 1886), p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 107, and Barth, *Nominal-bildung*, § 122, 10.

<sup>5</sup> So also in Ethiopic, e. g. *qasīs* 'priest,' plur. *qasāyēst*, *haṣmānōt* 'faith,' etc., etc.; cf. Prātorius, *Äthiop. Gr.* (Karlsruhe, 1886), p. 1, n. \*; see also Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The genuine Arabic كاهن means *seer, soothsayer*, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, pp. 134, 143.

‘preacher,’<sup>1</sup> **مشكاة** *māšha* ‘extreme unction,’ **ناقوس** *nāqós* ‘bell,’ etc.—from **نَحْمِسُ**, **نَحْمَمُ**, **نَحْمُ** or **نَحْمَمُ**, **نَحْمُوا**, **نَحْمُو**, **نَحْمُوا** (or **نَحْمَسُوا** or **نَحْمُوا**), **نَحْمُوا**.

From the Persian and Turkish languages we may mention the few following words

**صاغ** *çagh* ‘genuine, in good condition.’  
**بلكي** *balki* ‘perhaps.’  
**چرك** *čürüg* ‘defective.’  
**هلبت** *halbát* ‘necessarily, of course.’  
**هم** *hamm* ‘also.’  
**يواش** *ieuâš* ‘slowly.’  
**چويش** *çayîš* ‘policeman.’  
**گديش** *gdiš* ‘a poor horse.’  
**پردۀ** *perde* ‘curtain.’  
**پشكير** *peškîr* ‘napkin.’  
**چول** *çol* ‘open field.’  
**توفنگ** *tuféng* ‘gun.’  
**ميوه** *mêuâh* ‘fruits.’  
**زنگين** *zengîn* ‘rich man.’

and some 200 other words.

Among the loan-words borrowed from European languages we may mention :

**بطل** *butul*, from *bottle*.  
**گلاس** *glâss*, from *glass*.  
**ميز** *mêz*, from Lat. *mensa*, ‘dining table.’  
**طاولة** *tâule*, from Ital. *tavola* ‘table.’

<sup>1</sup> Aram. **ܕܪܝܢܐ** *ḏarîna* Dan. 3, 4; cf. Greek *Κηρύσσω*.

<sup>2</sup> The **ش** shows here that the word is borrowed from Aramaic. The genuine Arabic form of this stem has a **س**; cf. above, p. 109, n. 3. and Crit. Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 52, l. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Cavass*, **قواس** originally *archer*.

- شفقة *šafqa*, from French *chapeau* 'hat.'  
 لوكندة *locanda*, from Ital. *locanda*.  
 فاپور *vapór*, from Ital. *vapore* 'steamer.'  
 كاپلة *cápella*, from Italian *cappella* 'chapel.'  
 برنيطة *barnêta*, from Italian *berretta* 'cap.'  
 مغارة *maghâza*, from *magazin*, which is, of course, originally a genuine Arabic word, مخزن *mázzan*, plur. مخازن *maxâzin* 'storehouse,' from خزن *to accumulate, to store up*.

Finally we append a list of some other words commonly used in Baghdád :

- شاف *šáf* 'to see.'  
 باوع *bâya* 'to look.'  
 راح *râh* 'to go away.'  
 جاب *jâb* 'to bring here or in.'  
 توجع *taujja* 'to be sick.'  
 تعال *ta'al* 'come here !'  
 انقلع *inqûlî* 'get away !'  
 طلع *tála* 'to go out.'  
 باق *bâq* 'to steal.'  
 سوى *sâyya* 'to make.'  
 ودى *yâdda* 'to bring away.'  
 سدّ *sâdda* 'to close.'  
 زمال *zmâl* 'ass.'  
 غرض *gharaḍ* 'thing.'  
 خاطار *xuttâr* 'guest.'  
 عتيق *atiq* 'old' (of things).  
 كسر الصفرة *kasrilçifra* 'to breakfast.'  
 سايس *sâiis* 'hostler,' from the Aramaic or Hebrew word for horse, شيسا (Assyr. *sîsû*), סיס.  
 مبيكة *mbêha* 'to-morrow.'



ماوى *māyi* 'blue' = ماءى, i. e. the color of the water;  
the word ازرق *azraq* for *blue* is never used in  
Baghdād.

هاشة *hāša* = بقرة *bāqarat* 'cow.'

بستوقة *bastōqa* 'jar.'

خشم *xāšim* 'nose.'

حلو *ḥulu* (lit. *sweet*) is used for a *beautiful man, woman*  
or *thing*.

ابرش *abraš* = اشقر *āšqar* 'blond.'

بلور *ballār* 'crystal.'

موطية *muṭīya* 'she-ass.'

واوى *uāyi* = اوى *ibn āwā* 'fox.'

#### Proper Names.

As a rule the Mohammedans and the Arabs in Baghdād and in  
the surrounding country bear pure Arabic names. The most  
common names for men are: محمد *Mḥammed*, عباس *Abbās*,  
حسن *Hāsan*, حسين *Hsēn*, على *Āli*, جعفر *Jāfar*, محمود *Maḥmūd*;  
—and for women—فاطمة or فطومة *Fātime* or *Fat-  
tūme*, خديجة *Xadije*, عليّة *Ālije*, سعدة *Sāde*, حسنة *Hāsne*.

The Jews always have Hebrew names, e. g.:

موشى *Mōši* = משה.

عزرا *Izra* = עזרא.

حزقييل *Hazqiīl* = חזקיהל (or יהוקאל).

هارون *Hārūn* = אהרן.

دانيال *Daniāl* = דניאל.

سارة *Čāre* = שרה.

رابعة *Rāpqa* = רבקה.

زلفة *Zilfe* = זלפה.

חסدة *Hāsde* = חסדה.

راحيل *Rāhēl* = רָחֵל.

ليا *Lîe* = لֵיאָה.

The Christians have names taken from the Old and New Testaments, names of saints, martyrs, etc., but often also pure Arabic names as نعيم *Na'im*, سليم *Selīm*, مجيد *Mejīd*, جميل *Jamūl*, for men;—and جميلة *Jamīle*, فهيمة *Fahīme*, منيرة *Munīre*, ودیعة *Wadī'a*, etc., for women. Some also have European names as اسکندر *Iskānder* (Alexander), ولیم *William*, جورج *Jórj* (George) or جرجس *Jirjes* for men;—and رَجینا *Régīne* (Regina), الیزة *Elīze* (Eliza), كارولين *Kārōlīn* (Caroline), جوزفين *Jozefīn* (Josephine) for women.

#### 4. SPECIMEN OF THE MODERN ARABIC DIALECT OF BAGHDĀD.

WITH transliteration, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND RETRANSLATION INTO CLASSICAL ARABIC.

مبيكة غكت عند ابوي بالسوق وما شفتونو هونيك مبوغر  
كان كن غاح لغبغ مكان وزعلت كتبغ وبعدو رجعت للبيت  
وقلتوله لتي وخبرتوه وهي هيينا اخصغت كتبغ. ولما صاغ  
المسا سألت ايوي وقلتلو وين كنت يا ابوي هلبوم الصبح  
وهو جابني وقللي يا ولدي كنت غكت لسوق حتى اطلع  
الصناديق الى وصلتنى مبكح من اوروپا وبعدو شوفنى ياها  
وفخنا نيا كتبغ.

#### TRANSLITERATION.

*Mbēha rīhtu*<sup>1</sup> 'ind abūi bissōq umē šiftunā hōnāki mbōrīr  
kān kin rāh lḡḡ makēn wiz'iltā ktīr ybā'dā rjītu libēt yqiltālēh  
limmi yxabbartūyeh<sup>2</sup> yḥīje hammēna nḥašārīt ktīr. ulimme šār-

<sup>1</sup> The *ḡ* is a guttural (velar or postpalatal) *r*, as in French or German; cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, I, 257, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For *x* = خ see *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, I, 255.

*il-mese sa'altā abūi ugiltāla ūen kinit iā abūi halīm-iççibiḥ  
 ūhūye jāyēbni ugālli iā ūeledi kintu rihtu lissōq hitte atālli-iççen-  
 ediq illi ūiçltni mbēha min Ōrōpe ūba'adū sawwāfni iāhā ūifriḥne  
 biye ktir.*

#### ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

When I had gone yesterday to (see) my father in the market, I did not see him there; he had gone to some other place. I was very much disappointed. Then I went home and told my mother and informed her. She, too, was very much disappointed. When the evening came, I asked my father, and said to him: "Where were you this morning, father?" He answered and said to me: "My boy, I had gone to the market to take out the trunks which had been sent to me yesterday from Europe." Thereupon he showed them to me, and we both liked them very much.

#### RETRANSLATION INTO CLASSICAL ARABIC.

البارحة كنت ذهبت عند ابي بالسوق وما رايتك هناك لانه  
 كان قد ذهب الى غير مكان وزعلت كثيرا وبعده رجعت الى  
 البيت وقلت لامي واخبرتها وهي ايضا زعلت كثيرا ولما صار  
 المساء سألت ابي وقلت له أين كنت يا ابني اليوم صباحا وهو  
 اجابني وقال لي يا ولدي كنت ذهبت الى السوق حتى استخرج  
 الصناديق التي وصلتني البارحة من اوروپا وبعده أرانى ايها  
 وفرحنا بها كثيرا.